

~~SECRET~~

SUMMARY FROM FRENCH

The article "L'Express Continues with James Baldwin" is taken from the August 21-27, 1972, issue of "L'Express." p 68

Question: You believe in the possible victory of the black minority?

Answer: We represent around 10% of the American population. Without talking about starting a revolution, it is certainly enough to destroy society.

Question: In what way?

Answer: It is easy for us, for example, to make the cities uninhabitable. It is the Blacks who form the bulk of the urban services. In real estate, we are in the basement and the basement directs the life of the rest of the floors. It is very simple. In order to organize this type of resistance, it is not necessary to have a lot of people. And the war in Vietnam, in this regard, is very significant. That the most powerful country in the world, in twelve years, cannot manage to get the better of one of the poorest and most underdeveloped countries in the world, makes many Blacks wonder.

Question: In your opinion, is violence necessary or only inevitable?

Answer: You cannot speak of violence as if it could take place tomorrow. It is already there. But violence where, against whom? When President Nixon said: "We will not tolerate violence any longer," I still wonder to whom he was speaking. Who must no longer tolerate it? He? Or us? Because the main victims of American violence are the Blacks. I would certainly prefer to be able to avoid violent confrontations. But it does not depend on the Blacks. The choice is not in their hands.

Classified by ~~208/5108~~  
Declassify on: OADR  
6-14-89

DECLASSIFIED BY 6972 EEP/28  
ON 2-16-90  
89 3016 JHP

~~SECRET~~

(u) RECEIVED WITH BUREAU  
ROUTING SLIP DATED: 1/11/73

100-146583-399

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
1973	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Question:

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You returned to the U.S. in 1957 because you felt that something was stirring. Fifteen years later, you decided to live in France. Why?

Answer:

I decided to return to France and then to stay there after Martin Luther King's assassination in April of 1968. I hesitated for two years. And then, I felt that it was necessary to go away to begin again: as a writer, as a political militant, as a man. The death of Luther King was the end of a certain period of time in American politics in which I was closely involved. It was also the end of a certain hope.

Question:

The way chosen by Martin Luther King, was it feasible?

Answer:

I do not know. That is very difficult to say today. Perhaps the methods used by Martin were not the most effective but they were, at that time, the strongest. Anyhow, I could not stand the idea of remaining in France, because they were trying to change me. I returned to work at Martin's and Malcolm X's side.

Question:

Was this the hope which was broken when Luther King died?

Answer:

Yes. Hope in American morality.

Question:

And you returned to France?

Answer:

Yes, to breathe. And, to withdraw once again. To try and see clearly. I was very strongly connected with the Black Panther Movement and I was afraid, then, of being useless to them. What they do is done by youths in a world which is already different from mine. The only way to help them is to contribute my support. To listen to them, to respect them, hoping sometimes to be heard. I am, after all, first a writer. If I do not find the time to reflect, to write, I will not be of any use to anyone. I would not have any reason for being.

ALL INFORMATION ON THIS  
PAGE IS CLASSIFIED  
UNLESS INDICATED OTHERWISE

~~SECRET~~

Question:

What do you think about Angela Davis?

Answer:

~~SECRET~~

I do not know her personally. She is much younger than I. She belongs to another generation. All I can do is listen and try to help while there. I know that her trial is absurd. The only fault she has is being a bad example for the other slaves. Angela Davis and Paul Robeson are, in the eyes of the Whites, bad "niggers."

Question:

What do you mean?

Answer:

Paul Robeson went through the world as if the world belonged to him. Whites cannot stand to be surrounded by black people. It is necessary to quickly give an example. Angela Davis answered Ronald Reagan that she was a communist. The problem was not what she was accused of. What does the answer matter when you have no right to ask the question anyway? Whether I do or do not agree with her ideas means nothing. As I am 20 years older than she is, I necessarily have another viewpoint. Anyhow, she is a victim. Therefore she is my sister.

Translator's note: James Arthur Baldwin's interview with Margaret Mead is called "Racism in Question", a Calmann-Levy publication.

Question:

You have written that "If catastrophe comes one day, the rebirth will only be able to come from the South." What do you mean?

Answer:

Because the people live in such a nightmare, that unconsciously they will be looking to free themselves. In order to leave this hell, the Southerner will have an enormous price to pay. But perhaps he will finish by saying to himself: "Anything but this hell." While the Northerner does not live surrounded by Blacks, the Black is not a daily element, permanent in his life. He passes by him in the elevator, on the sidewalks. He is not a part of the view all the time. The journey will take much longer for him.

ALL INFORMATION ON THIS  
PAGE IS CLASSIFIED  
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Question:

~~SECRET~~

Do you believe that the cultural contributions of the Black civilization can influence society?

Answer:

Yes, I believe that it is in this way, through cultural contributions, that you can manage to profoundly change society. Our way of listening, seeing, feeling, thinking can contribute to these changes. It is for this reason that I find the word "revolution," in this day and age, to be a bit romantic. It is, in reality, the hidden fountain of humanity that one must exploit, in order to disconcert, to establish communications.

To be born, to learn to walk, to grow up, to grow old, all this is difficult for everyone. No one has the right to add another problem, that of the color of one's skin.

ALL INFORMATION ON THIS  
PAGE IS CLASSIFIED  
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Router (1) 4-28-72)

(Copies to Offices Checked)

TO: SAC:

☐ Albany  
☐ Albuquerque  
☐ Alexandria  
☐ Anchorage  
☐ Atlanta  
☐ Baltimore  
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TO LEGAT:

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☐ Singapore  
☐ Tel Aviv  
☐ Tokyo

RE:

Date 10/5/72

JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN

EM

Retention: For appropriate  
XXX For information ☐ optional ☒ action ☐ Surep, by \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, ☐ conceal all sources, ☐ paraphrase contents.  
☐ Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA \_\_\_\_\_ dated \_\_\_\_\_

Remarks:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/30/89 BY 2083-2573/af  
NY 100-146553-398

Enc.  
Bufile 62-108763  
Urfile 100-146553

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT 6 1972	
FBI - NEW YORK	

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-146553) DATE: FEB 21 1974

FROM : SUPERVISOR [REDACTED] 3A8 b7c-1

SUBJECT: JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN  
EM-

A review of subject's file fails to indicate that appropriate action has been taken with respect to the subject's Administrative Index (ADEX) status.

You are to determine subject's propensity towards violence and comment as to whether subject should remain or be deleted from the ADEX, in accordance with instructions contained in SAC Memorandum 21-72 (E), dated 9/12/72; you should submit Form -122 with appropriate recommendations for retention or deletion.

With regard to those subjects retained on the ADEX, the ADEX card should reflect that an FD-165 (Security Flash) and date was placed with the Identification Division (in cases where a fingerprint record exists) or that it was sent and date thereof when FD-165 returned with no record stamp.

Date FD -165 sent: \_\_\_\_\_

Date FD-165 returned: \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5-30-89 BY [REDACTED] 21573/af

JCS:sal

OPEN OR REOPEN CASE  
ORIGIN [REDACTED] DATE 2/21/73  
SUPV. [REDACTED] SECT 3/18

100-146553-399

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 21 1974	
FBI - NEW YORK	

b7c-1

Dissemination  
Routing Slip  
FD-417 (9-12-69)

(Copies to Offices Checked)

To: ☒ Director, Attn: INTD, J. and D  
☐ SAC,

☐ Albany  
☐ Albuquerque  
☐ Alexandria  
☐ Anchorage  
☐ Atlanta  
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☐ San Francisco  
☐ San Juan  
☐ Savannah  
☐ Seattle  
☐ Springfield  
☐ Tampa  
☐ Washington Field

Date March 25, 1974

RE: JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN  
EM

REMARKS:

FILE HAS BEEN REVIEWED AND SUBJECT DOES NOT  
MEET CRITERIA FOR INCLUSION ON ADEX AS SET  
FORTH IN BUREAU MEMORANDUM 21-72, DATED 9/12/72.

292325  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5-30-89 BY 2052073/08

NOTED  
ADEX UNIT  
DATE 3/27/74

1-BUREAU FILE #62-108763

(1) FILE #: 100-146553

~~EXC~~ ADIC JOHN F. MALONE

OFFICE New York

FILE STOPPED  
BY *[initials]*

CHIEF CLERK  
CLOSE ON THIS

100-146553-400

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 25 1974	
FBI - NY	
ADEX UNIT	

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 6-7-63

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: JAMES BALDWIN

*Up to 100*

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
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Tavel	_____
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Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

*b7c-1*

BACKGROUND:

We have received information to the effect that Baldwin, an author who has been critical of the Bureau and has been connected with communist front and integration activities, is allegedly preparing a statement concerning the FBI which supposedly "is going to nail them to the wall" and "is going to be like an atom bomb when it is dropped." A suggested statement by the Director which can be made in the event Baldwin should make false charges against the Bureau has previously been prepared and will be issued if the circumstances warrant. (WILL, OF COURSE, BE SUBMITTED FOR APPROVAL.)

CURRENT DEVELOPMENT:

A review of today's television listing reflects that a program concerning the "Integration Crisis" will be heard this evening at 9:30 p.m. on local Channel 26. Baldwin will be interviewed by Kenneth Clark of the City College of New York. Also scheduled is a statement by Malcolm X, leader of the Black Muslims. Channel 26 is the local educational television station, WETA.

Arrangements have been made for the Laboratory to record this program at 9:30 this evening. A representative of the Crime Research Section will also be present at that time to monitor the program.

CONCERNING KENNETH CLARK

Baldwin and other individuals had a meeting with the Attorney General in New York City on May 24, 1963, at which time racial matters were discussed. One of those attending this meeting was a Dr. Kenneth Clark, who is a psychologist at the City College of New York. Clark has never been investigated by the Bureau. Clark has been very active in the integration movement as well as in the affairs of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In 1959, he was a member of the New York City Board of Education's Commission on Integration in the Schools. In 1958, Minnijean Brown was reportedly staying at the home of Dr. and Mrs. Clark. Minnijean Brown, in 1958 the 16-year-old girl who was expelled from Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. Tolson
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- CJH:jaf

(7)

JUN 11 1963

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/16/89 BY 2038 JAG

292325

P. C. MR. TOLSON

MCT-10

REC-58

12 JUN 11 1963

108763



Tolson ☒  
 Belmont ☒  
 Mohr ☒  
 Casper ☒  
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 Conrad ☒  
 DeLoach ☒  
 Evans ☒  
 Gale ☒  
 Rosen ☒  
 Sullivan ☒  
 Tavel ☒  
 Trotter ☒  
 Tele. Room ☒  
 Holmes ☒  
 Gandy ☒

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 5/16/89 BY 2087/STJ/SP

UPI-212

(RACIAL)

BOSTON--NOVELIST JAMES BALDWIN FEELS THAT THE "SINISTER" APPEAL OF THE BLACK MUSLIMS IS GAINING MORE AND MORE ADHERENTS AMONG THE NATION'S NEGROES.

BALDWIN, A NEGRO, MADE THE STATEMENT IN AN INTERVIEW WITH DR. KENNETH CLARK, PROFESSOR OF PSYCHOLOGY AT CITY COLLEGE OF NEW YORK, TAPED FOR BROADCAST TONIGHT (AT 10:30 P.M. EDT) OVER EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION STATIONS WGBH-TV, BOSTON, AND WNBT-TV, NEW YORK.

THE INTERVIEW WAS CONDUCTED LAST FRIDAY SHORTLY AFTER BALDWIN AND OTHER WELL KNOWN NEGRO WRITERS AND ARTISTS MET SECRETLY WITH ATTY. GEN. ROBERT F. KENNEDY TO DISCUSS THE CURRENT RACIAL CRISIS IN THE SOUTH.

BALDWIN REFERRED TO HIS TALK WITH KENNEDY ONLY ONCE. HE SAID HE TOLD THE ATTORNEY GENERAL, "I WOULD HAVE TROUBLE CONVINCING MY NEPHEW TO GO TO CUBA, FOR EXAMPLE, TO LIBERATE THE CUBANS IN DEFENSE OF A GOVERNMENT, WHICH NOW SAYS IT IS DOING EVERYTHING IT CAN DO, WHICH CANNOT LIBERATE ME."

BALDWIN, OF NEW YORK, AUTHOR OF THE BEST-SELLING "GO TELL IT ON THE MOUNTAIN" AND "THE FIRE NEXT TIME," SAID THE "GRASS ROOTS" APPEAL OF THE BLACK MUSLIMS STEMMED FROM THEIR LEADERS' ABILITY TO "ARTICULATE FOR ALL THE NEGRO PEOPLE WHO HEAR THEM...THEY ARTICULATE THEIR SUFFERING, THE SUFFERING WHICH HAS BEEN IN THIS COUNTRY SO LONG DENIED."

HE SAID MUSLIM LEADER MALCOLM X'S "GREAT AUTHORITY OVER ANY OF HIS AUDIENCES" CAME FROM HIS ARTICULATENESS. "HE CORROBORATES THEIR REALITY; HE TELLS THEM THAT THEY REALLY EXIST..."

HE LABELED THE BLACK MUSLIMS' APPEAL "SINISTER" BECAUSE THE MOVEMENT SEEKS TO INVEST THE NEGROES "WITH FALSE MORALE BY GIVING THEM A FALSE SENSE OF SUPERIORITY, AND IT WILL ALWAYS BREAK DOWN IN A CRISIS."

BALDWIN DESCRIBED THE REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING LEADER OF THE NON-VIOLENT ANTI-SEGREGATIONIST MOVEMENT IN THE SOUTH, AS "A VERY GREAT MAN...HE REALLY BELIEVES IN NON-VIOLENCE. HE HAS ARRIVED AT SOMETHING IN HIMSELF WHICH ALLOWS HIM TO DO IT, AND HE STILL HAS GREAT MORAL AUTHORITY IN THE SOUTH. HE HAS NONE WHATEVER IN THE NORTH."

5/28--N1130PED

162-10710-1  
NOT RECORDED

149 JUN 13 1963

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

1010

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
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Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. DeLoach

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: JAMES BALDWIN  
TELEVISION INTERVIEW  
JUNE 7, 1963

DATE: 6/7/63

A filmed interview of author James Baldwin and Malcolm X, Black Muslim, by Dr. Kenneth Clark was shown on Channel 26, WETA, on June 7, 1963, at 9:30 p. m. A 30-minute film of the Baldwin interview was shown first and followed by a 30-minute filmed interview of Malcolm X. It was announced prior to the films that the Baldwin interview was conducted "shortly after" Baldwin and other Negro leaders met with Attorney General Robert Kennedy in New York on May 24, 1963.

There was no reference to the FBI during these interviews. Baldwin made reference to the interview with the Attorney General stating that he was shocked at the lack of "real understanding" by the Attorney General of the Negro problem. Malcolm X made his reference to the Attorney General stating that he had talked to the wrong group, referring to Baldwin and the other Negro leaders, concerning the Negro problem.

## RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

JUN 13 1963

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Conrad

RWG:alk

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/89 BY 202855D p8

63 JUN 21 1963

E E I

CE MARK TOLSON

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. DeLoach ☒  
 Mr. Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen ☒  
 Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Fulton Lewis Jr.

## FBI Impartial In Rights Cases

It is the anguished cry of James Baldwin that Attorney General Robert Kennedy could not "communicate" during their recent closed-door session held as a meeting of the minds on Americans racial problems.

There would have been even less communication, however, if Kennedy had heard the outlandish slander that Baldwin, prominent Negro author, had previously directed against the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Had Baldwin repeated his statements at their conference, the attorney general would undoubtedly have set the record straight. As much as any man, Bob Kennedy is cognizant of the job the FBI has performed in the civil rights field. The bureau, being strictly an investigative agency, doesn't side with segregationists or integrationists, despite what Baldwin and others charge. Southern racists assail the FBI as a Gestapo agency.

FBI investigations in this field are conducted thoroughly, promptly and impartially without apology to anyone. They are handled by special agents who have completed special training which specifically qualifies them to conduct civil rights investigations.

It is the FBI that has laid the groundwork for thousands of previously disenfranchised Negroes to register and vote. Bureau agents late last year conducted investigations involving more than 100 counties in which racial discrimination was reported to exist.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

14 THE DAILY OKLAHOMAN  
OKLAHOMA CITY, OKL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5/16/89 BY 288 JSTJ/af

Date: JUNE 7 1963  
 Edition: MORNING  
 Author: FULTON LEWIS J  
 Editor:  
 Title: CIVIL RIGHTS,  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF  
INVESTIGATION  
 Character:  
 or  
 Classification:  
 Submitting Office: OKLA CITY

NOT RECORDED  
149 JUN 17 1963

On the Right:

## Baldwin's Call To Color Blindness

By WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

"**M**ARTIN LUTHER KING is a great man," James Baldwin said a week ago, "but he has come to the end of his rope." Baldwin is the Negro novelist and essayist and the principal catalyst of the policy of unconditional surrender (he wants the white population: 1. to give their power to the Negroes, 2. to renounce their civilization, and 3. to despise their God). He means that Dr. King has nowhere left to take his people by any of the conventional forms of protest. "Look about you," Baldwin says in effect, "and what do you see? A Supreme Court that outlawed segregated schools nine years ago, and a South that is still 91 per cent segregated; a Chicago—far, far away from the South—where 90 per cent of Negro children go to schools that are preponderantly Negro."



BUCKLEY

That is not the kind of progress that satisfies a man of the raw nervous temperament of James Baldwin; and so, with that crushing hortatory eloquence that no other writer living today can successfully imitate, he calls for the total liberation of the Negro, for the end of Christian civilization, and, beginning immediately, for personal action by the President. Two weeks ago he proposed to Robert Kennedy that JFK personally escort the two Negro students scheduled to enroll at the University of Alabama on June 10 over the protest of Gov. Wallace. Robert Kennedy is said to have laughed. This is no laughing matter, harrumphed the New York Times.

Indeed it isn't. It is a tragic matter, tragedy here defined as an irresistible force moving on collision course towards an immovable body. What Baldwin has asked for is nothing less than the evanescence of color. He wants the day to come—soon; if not by June 10, not long after; certainly within his lifetime—when color-consciousness will disappear, when you and I, entering a room, will not have noticed even at the time we leave, who there, if anyone, was black, who was white.

Moreover, in pursuing his goal of an end to racial self-consciousness, his instrument is, of all things, racial self-consciousness. He wants a mobilized Negro community who will view all life as Baldwin does, with direct relation to the goal of absolute integration.

Baldwin's Negro, every time he drinks a cup of coffee, must brood over the behavior of the white waitress who handed it to him—did she act unnaturally? Resentfully? Condescendingly? And every time he listens to Ella Fitzgerald sing, he must writhe in resentment over the racial tribulations that gave birth to the blues. In order to abolish a society of Blacks and Whites, it is necessary, Baldwin seems to be saying, for the Blacks to be 110 per cent Black.

Tolson ☒  
 Belmont ☒  
 Mohr ☐  
 Casper ☐  
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 Gandy ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/89 BY 288/57J/af

The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Journal-American 10  
 New York Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
 The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
 Date \_\_\_\_\_

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 149 JUN 14 1963

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ASSUMING WE WERE willing to put the entire legal resources of this country at the disposal of James Baldwin, what would he do with them, to eliminate race prejudice? In his poignant essay threatening the whites with *The Fire Next Time* unless we now reform, he cites two typical humiliations, one from his early childhood, when an Irish policeman in downtown Manhattan yelled at him to go back to Harlem "where the Niggers belong," another that happened to him only last year, at age 38, when a bartender at the Chicago Airport refused to serve him a drink, affecting not to be able to tell whether he was over eighteen. How can such meanness be cured by legislation?

What shall we do, in the new order, to that policeman and that bartender? Shoot them? It is more to the point to shoot human nature, whence the troubles really come, but there seems to be no practicable way to do that.

If I am born different — whether a Negro like Baldwin, a hunchback like Quasimodo, a beauty like Elizabeth Taylor, or a conservative like myself — I shall be treated "differently." Sometimes that difference should be cherished (it is a fact that here and there a young Negro lawbreaker is dealt with more tolerantly because he has not had the same advantages as the white boy from the middle class neighborhood). So long as the eyes remark the difference between black and white, existential differences, of greater or lesser consequence, but of meaning just the same, will exist.

The job at hand is not to try to obliterate differences which only autohypnotic color blindness could achieve, but to stimulate man's capacity for love and his toleration, understanding, and respect for other, different people.

What is important about Baldwin is that he is a great artist, not that he is an evangelist of racial reconciliation. In the latter capacity he will, pursuing his present course, do great harm; in the former capacity, he has greatly raised the prestige of the Negro in the world of letters; that is a true step forward for his people.

*True*



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. Rosen

DATE: May 29, 1963

FROM : Mr. [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
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Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5-16-89 BY [REDACTED]

SYNOPSIS:

On the attached clipping from the New York "Journal American" of 5-28-63, Mr. Tolson inquired as to information in our files concerning James Baldwin who recently met with the Attorney General.

Bureau files reveal that Baldwin, a Negro author, was born 8-2-24 in New York City and has lived and traveled in Europe. He has become rather well-known due to his writings dealing with the relationship of whites and Negroes. In 1960 he sponsored an advertisement of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and was identified as one of its prominent members. This group is a pro-Castro propaganda organization in the United States. In 1961 he sponsored a news release from the Carl Braden Clemency Appeal Committee distributed by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the successor to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare cited as a communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA). Braden was a communist convicted of contempt of the HCUA. In 1962 Baldwin signed a clemency petition for Junius Scales, a communist convicted under the Smith Act. In April, 1961, he sponsored a rally to abolish the HCUA.

Baldwin has supported organizations supporting integration and in 1961 reportedly stated a period of revolution confronted the world and only in revolution could the problems of the United States be solved. He has advocated the abolishment of capital punishment and criticized the Director stating

Enclosure

GHS:bep  
(8)

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

1 - Name and Section

62 JUN 29 1963

11 JUN 13 1963

*Baldwin  
vs. Hoover  
prosecution*

JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN

that Mr. Hoover "is not a lawgiver, nor is there any reason to suppose him to be a particularly profound student of human nature. He is a law-enforcement officer. It is appalling that in this capacity he not only opposes the trend of history among civilized nations but uses his enormous power and prestige to corroborate the blindest and basest instincts of the retaliatory mob." He has also indicated he feels the Attorney General and the President have been ineffective in dealing with discrimination and in this connection has urged the removal of the Director.

ACTION:

For information. Information concerning Baldwin and the other individuals who participated in the recent conference with the Attorney General is being incorporated into informative memoranda for dissemination to the Attorney General.

*sd R V. JRMH*

DETAILS:

*James Arthur Baldwin* was born on August 2, 1924, in New York City to David Baldwin, a part-time clergyman, and Berdis Emma Baldwin, nee Jones. The eldest of nine children, James Baldwin was reared entirely in New York and in 1942 graduated from DeWitt Clinton High School where he served as a student judge and magazine editor. Baldwin has received many fellowships and awards which enabled him to live and write in Europe for approximately eight years during the 1950's. He has traveled to many other parts of the world including Palestine, Africa and many of the Asiatic countries.

*NY*

JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN

The April 6, 1960, edition of "The New York Times" contained an advertisement by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and Baldwin was one of the sponsors of the committee. The April 16, 1960, edition of "The Crusader" identified Baldwin as one of the prominent members of the committee. This Committee is a pro-Castro propaganda organization in the United States.

Baldwin spoke before a mass rally of the Washington, D. C., Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality for the "Original Freedom Riders" on 6-11-61 and stated in substance that the white race had better realize the emerging strength of the Negro and that he would not care to be in the shoes of the white man when the African nations become stronger.

The 10-2-61 issue of the "National Guardian" carried an advertisement of The Monroe Defense Committee listing Baldwin as one of the sponsors thereof. This committee was formed to tell the story of the racial violence which occurred in Monroe, North Carolina, on 8-27-61.

Baldwin was one of the authors of a letter to the editor in the 6-17-61 edition of the "New York Herald Tribune" which advocated the abolishment of capital punishment and in this connection he criticized the Director stating that Mr. Hoover "is not a lawgiver, nor is there any reason to suppose him to be a particularly profound student of human nature. He is a law-enforcement officer. It is appalling that in this capacity he not only opposes the trend of history among civilized nations but uses his enormous power and prestige to corroborate the blindest and basest instincts of the retaliatory mob."

The Liberation Committee for Africa held a celebration on 6-2-61 at which Baldwin was listed as one of the principal speakers. During his address he stated a period of revolution confronted the world and that America has taken a position throughout the world against revolutions, and then asserted that only in revolution could the problems of the United States be solved.

Baldwin's name appeared as a sponsor on a news release in August, 1961, from the Carl Braden clemency appeal committee which was being distributed by the Southern Conference Educational Fund. This organization is the successor to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) as a communist front. Braden



## JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN

was sentenced to prison for contempt of the HCUA.

The 1-10-63 issue of the "National Guardian" revealed that Baldwin was among the signers of a statement urging the Anti-Defamation League to withdraw its award, "democratic legacy," to President Kennedy unless the Department of Justice drops its "harassment" of William Worthy, Jr. Worthy is a Negro journalist who has been in trouble with United States officials as he traveled without a passport both through Red China and to Cuba.

The 4-17-61 issue of the "National Guardian" announced a rally to abolish the HCUA and Baldwin was listed as a sponsor of the rally. In April, 1962, Baldwin was among the 550 signers of a clemency petition for convicted communist Junius Scales who was convicted for violating the Smith Act.

The 5-17-63 issue of "Time" magazine devotes its cover to Baldwin and the magazine describes some of his recent efforts in behalf of integration. He is described as a "nervous, slight, almost fragile figure, filled with frets and fears. He is effeminate in manner, drinks considerably, smokes cigarettes in chains and he often looses his audience with overblown arguments." The May, 1963, issue of "Mademoiselle" contains an interview-type article with James Baldwin in which he gibes to both whites and Negroes concerning the Negro situation in the United States. During this article he indicated that he was illegitimate. On the subject of homosexuality, Baldwin states "American males are the only people I've ever encountered in the world who are willing to go on the needle before they'll go to bed with each other. Because they're afraid of this, they don't know how to go to bed with women either. I've known people who literally died out of this panic. I don't know what homosexual means any more, and Americans don't either... If you fall in love with a boy, you fall in love with a boy. The fact that Americans consider it a disease says more about them than it says about homosexuality."

In connection with a discussion of why he feels both Robert Kennedy, the Attorney General, the Justice Department and President Kennedy are ineffective in dealing with discrimination with the Negroes in the South, Baldwin makes the statement that he is weary of being told that desegregation is legal. He then states "...because first of all you have to get Eastland out of

JAMES ARTHUR BALDWIN

Congress and get rid of the power that he wields there. You've got to get rid of J. Edgar Hoover and the power that he wields. If one could get rid of just those two men, or modify their power, there would be a great deal more hope..."

A United Press International release dated April 29, 1963, revealed that David Susskind was fired on that day by the Metropolitan Broadcasting Company and his television program "Open End" was being removed from the air. According to the news release a dispute between Susskind and the television broadcasting company started when Susskind announced plans to present author James Baldwin and singer Harry Belafonte on a program called "The American Negro Speaks His Mind." Officials of the television company objected to the program by Susskind on the basis that the combination of Baldwin and Belafonte "would not offer a broad enough basis of enlightened opinion."

## THE RACIAL ISSUE

# RFK in Fight Of His Life-- And Knows It

By WARREN ROGERS

N. Y. Journal-American Chief Washington Correspondent  
With Hearst Headline Service

WASHINGTON: Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy is in the fight of his life, and he knows it. The racial issue will make or break him, and it may well decide his brother's place in history.

Bob Kennedy took over the Justice Department with some misgivings. He had listened to all the arguments against it—that he was too young, too untested as a lawyer, too close to the President to occupy Cabinet status, too inexperienced to handle all the myriad details of an extruciatingly difficult office.

In the end, after much soul-searching, he decided he could do it. And he surprised a number of his critics by doing a lot of it well. Except for the case of Jimmy Hoffa, where he has apparently bogged down in a pursuit as dogged and as fruitless as Hamlet's search for justice, the young man who managed his brother into the White House has managed his affairs exceedingly well.

### Articulate Spokesman for U. S.

Bob Kennedy has been more than an Attorney General. He has been the ramrod behind much of America's foreign policy endeavors, notably the mess after the Bay of Pigs fiasco and the first decisive effort to settle the South Viet Nam problem. He emerged, in a trip around the world, as an articulate spokesman for American leadership of the newly developing nations.

But Bob Kennedy will be less than an Attorney General—at least in the judgment of history—if he does not solve the racial problem. It is, without any doubt, the gravest problem facing the country today.

There are clear signs that he is working at it, almost to the exclusion of anything else. He has been quietly holding meetings with various businessmen throughout the country in an effort to explain to them his feeling that—no matter how strong are the

# Bobby Kennedy In Fight of His Life

Continued from First Page

prejudices of the people of their community—the American philosophy embodied in the Fourteenth Amendment must be maintained.

He had one disastrous sortie into the lofty levels of Negro intellectualism a few days ago. That was his meeting with James Baldwin, the bitter and brilliantly articulate spokesman for the Negro who says, "Integration now." Baldwin and others with whom Kennedy talked in New York did not budge an inch, and it now is clear the meeting might better not have been held.

He had another disastrous junket into hard-core segregationist territory. That was his session at Montgomery, Ala., with Alabama's Gov. George Wallace. Afterward, Kennedy came away shaking his head and saying it was like talking to a foreign government, which is just about the way he must have felt after his bout with Baldwin.

It can be predicted that, in the future, Bob Kennedy will not make such mistakes again. He has learned that little can be gained and much can be lost by trying to deal directly with people like Wallace and

Baldwin who are at the absolute opposite ends of the integration-segregation spectrum.

The key to the problem lies in between, with those whom the extremists on both sides call "Uncle Toms," "handkerchief heads," "radicals," "moderates," and much, much worse. The key also lies in the economic field. The greatest pressure for a solution in Birmingham was brought by U. S. Steel on its Birmingham subsidiary, Tennessee Coal and Iron. Businessmen, whether big or little, whether local or absentee owned, are not going to stand idly by and watch a racial dispute destroy their businesses. It has happened in Little Rock, New Orleans, Birmingham, and wherever else the canker gnaws. It is here—among business, professional, clerical and other leaders who are not entirely bigoted, one way or the other—that solutions are going to be worked out. And they had better be.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/16/89 BY 208101J) 5/28/63

NEW YORK JOURNAL AMERICAN

New York, New York

ENCLOSURE

what do our files show on James Baldwin?

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☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

URGENT 6-6-63 12:40 AM SAV/DE  
 TO DIRECTOR -2-  
 FROM SAC, NEW YORK 052230

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 5-16-89 BY 8888

CONFERENCE WITH ATTORNEY GENERAL, NEW YORK CITY, MAY 24, 1963,  
 CIVIL RIGHTS MATTERS. MARTIN LUTHER KING, RACIAL MATTERS.

REFERENCE NEW YORK TELETYPE TO BUREAU DATED MAY 29, 1963  
 AND NEW YORK AIRTEL TO BUREAU DATED JUNE 4, 1963.

ON JUNE 4, 1963 [REDACTED] ADVISED ON ABOVE DATE THAT  
 STANLEY LEVISON WAS IN CONTACT WITH CLARENCE JONES. LEVISON  
 INQUIRED WHEN "PHIL" (A. PHILIP RANDOLPH) WAS COMING BACK.  
 JONES SAID HE WAS AT THE HAMILTON HOTEL IN CHICAGO, COMING  
 BACK ON THURSDAY. JONES SAID "PHIL'S" REACTION WAS POSITIVE  
 BUT WANTED TO REFLECT TO WHAT EXTENT THE EMPLOYMENT ISSUE SHOULD  
 BE PLAYED UP. HE (PHIL) FELT IT WOULD BE "ANTI CLIMATIC TO HAVE  
 A MARCH IN OCTOBER." JONES SAID THAT "PHIL" WANTS TO TALK TO  
 MARTIN "LUTHER KING" AND ADDED THAT HE, JONES, HAS BEEN UNABLE  
 TO REACH MARTIN. JONES FELT THAT MARTIN SHOULD CALL PHIL.

JONES ALSO STATED THAT HE SPENT ALL DAY SUNDAY AND SUNDAY  
 EVENING WITH JAMES BALDWIN. HE TOLD LEVISON THAT HE WENT INTO  
 SOME DETAIL WITH BALDWIN ABOUT SOME OF THE THINKING FOR POLITICAL  
 ACTION THIS SUMMER. JONES SAID THAT IF MARTIN (KING) ISSUES HIS  
 STATEMENT THEN BALDWIN WOULD LIKE TO KNOW BECAUSE HE, BALDWIN,  
 WOULD ALSO ISSUE A STATEMENT SUPPORTING IT, AND BELIEVES IT  
 MIGHT BE HELPFUL. JONES TOLD LEVISON "I TOLD HIM IT (THE STATE-  
 MENT) WOULD BE AROUND THE TWELFTH." JONES SAID "HE (BALDWIN)  
 AGREES WITH IT VERY MUCH WHICH IS THE IMPORTANT THING." JONES  
 COMMENTED THAT BALDWIN SORT OF GAVE HIM A BLANK CHECK TO DO  
 WHATEVER HE WANTED IN HIS NAME.

JONES NEXT INFORMED LEVISON OF A STATEMENT THAT BALDWIN IS  
 PREPARING. "I HAVE SEEN SOME STATEMENTS OF THE FBI BUT I HAVE

NOT RECORDED  
 199 JUN 24 1963

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
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☐ AIRGRAM ☐ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☒ TELETYPE

PAGE TWO FROM SAC, NEW YORK 052230

NEVER SEEN ONE LIKE THIS. HE (BALDWIN) IS GOING TO NAIL THEM TO THE WALL." LEVISON INQUIRED "BECAUSE OF THE QUESTIONING OF THE PEOPLE WHO WERE AT THE MEETING." JONES REPLIED "NO, BECAUSE OF THE HARRASSMENT OF HIMSELF. THIS IS GOING TO BE LIKE AN ATOMIC BOMB WHEN IT IS DROPPED." LEVISON THEN COMMENTED "IT REALLY WILL BECAUSE HE IS A NAME IN THE NEWS." LEVISON THEN ASKED "HAVE THEY BEEN HARASSING HIM. WHAT IDIOTS, HOW IDIOTIC."

CONTINUING, LEVISON THEN COMMENTED THAT THERE IS ONLY ONE THING THAT BOTHERS HIM ABOUT SOME OF HIS (BALDWIN) STATEMENTS. "I THINK HE IS OVERSTATING THE SITUATION IN THE NORTH. THERE IS MORE OF A KIND OF POETIC EXAGGERATION." JONES REPLIED "THERE IS SOME POETIC EXAGGERATION, THAT IS TRUE." LEVISON COMMENTED "IT TROUBLE ME BECAUSE WHAT IT CAN LEAD TO IS THE EXPECTATION OF SOMETHING AND WHEN SOMETHING LESS OCCURS, IT LEADS TO AN ATTITUDE OF WELL, NOW THEY HAVE MISCALCULATED. I JUST DO NOT HAVE THE SAME FEELING ABOUT THE INTENSITY OF ATTITUDES HERE." JONES REPLIED "HE (BALDWIN) AND I DIFFER ON THIS, BUT HE FEELS STRONGLY ABOUT IT."

INFORMANT ADVISED THAT LEVISON AND JONES NEXT DISCUSSED A FORTHCOMING ARTICLE TO APPEAR IN "THE SATURDAY EVENING POST" CONCERNING MARTIN LUTHER KING. LEVISON COMMENTED THAT KING WAS APPREHENSIVE ABOUT THE ARTICLE BECAUSE THE INTERVIEWER APPEARED SOMEWHAT HOSTILE. LEVISON INFORMED JONES THAT HE HAD SPOKEN TO THE PUBLIC RELATIONS MAN FROM "THE SATURDAY EVENING POST" AND LEVISON IS OF THE OPINION THAT THE FORTHCOMING ARTICLE MAY ONLY BE GENERALLY FAVORABLE TO MARTIN (LUTHER KING).

RECEIVED: 1:22 AM JGE

*Walt/na/*  
*h-26*  
*6-2-68*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1-Mr. Belmont  
1-Mr. Rosen  
1-Mr. Malley  
1-Mr. McGowan  
1-Mr. Lavin  
1-Mr. Mohr  
1-Mr. DeLoach  
1-Mr. Evans

June 6, 1963

BY COURIER SERVICE

Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell  
Special Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. O'Donnell:

Attached for your information is a memorandum prepared by our New York Office dated June 4, 1963, setting forth information concerning a discussion held by Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., Clarence Jones and Stanley Levison on June 1 and 2, 1963. Levison and Jones are more fully identified in the memorandum.

In addition to the information contained in the memorandum, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on June 4, 1963, that on June 4, 1963, Stanley Levison was in contact with Clarence Jones. Levison inquired of Jones when "Phil," presumably A. Philip Randolph, was coming back. Jones indicated that "Phil" was at the Hamilton Hotel in Chicago and would return on Thursday. Jones indicated that "Phil's" reaction was positive but desired to know to what extent the employment issue would be played up and that "Phil" thought it would be "anticlimatic to have a march in October."

Jones indicated to Levison that "Phil" wants to talk to "Martin," presumably Martin Luther King, Jr., and added that he, Jones, has been unable to reach "Martin." Jones felt that "Martin" should call "Phil."

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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BY COURIER SVC.

47 JUN - 6

COMM-FBI

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53 JUN 27 1963

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

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GROUP 1

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell

Jones also indicated to Levison that he had spent all day Sunday and Sunday evening with James Baldwin and that he had gone into some detail with Baldwin concerning political action this summer. Jones commented to Levison that if King issues a statement then he, Baldwin, would like to know about it because he would also issue a statement supporting it, and he believes such action might be helpful.

Jones indicated to Levison that the statement would be made around the 12th. Jones stated that Baldwin agrees with the statement very much which is the important thing. Baldwin reportedly gave Jones a blank check to do whatever he wanted to in his name.

Jones informed Levison of a statement that Baldwin is preparing and mentioned to Levison, "I have seen some statements on the FBI but I have never seen one like this. He (Baldwin) is going to nail them to the wall." Levison inquired if this was because of the questioning of the people who were at the meeting, which presumably refers to a conference the Attorney General held in New York on May 24, 1963. Jones told Levison that Baldwin's statement was not because of the alleged interviews of persons at the meeting but was because of the harassment of himself and Baldwin reportedly told Jones that "This is going to be like an atomic bomb when it is dropped." Levison agreed with this, commenting that "It really will because he (Baldwin) is a name in the news." Levison then asked Jones, "Have they been harassing him? What idiots, how idiotic."

It should be noted that an allegation had previously been made that Agents of our New York Office had attempted to enter Mr. Baldwin's apartment on May 27, 1963, and the further allegation had been made that persons attending the conference on May 24, 1963, had been interviewed by Agents following the conference. Both allegations are completely without foundation. In addition, we have not conducted any investigation of Baldwin and he has not been harassed in any way by Agents of this Bureau.

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Honorable P. Kenneth O'Donnell

Levison then commented to Jones that there is only one thing that bothers him about Baldwin's statements. Levison stated, "I think he is overstating the situation in the North. There is more of a kind of poetic exaggeration." Jones replied, "There is some poetic exaggeration, that is true." Levison then commented, "It troubles me because what it can lead to is the expectation of something and when something less occurs, it leads to an attitude of well, now they have miscalculated. I just do not have the same feeling about the intensity of attitudes here." Jones replied, "He (Baldwin) and I differ on this, but he feels strongly about it."

Our source indicated that Levison and Jones next discussed a forthcoming article to appear in "The Saturday Evening Post" concerning Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. Levison indicated that King was apprehensive about the article because the interviewer appeared to be somewhat hostile. Levison informed Jones that he had spoken to the public relations man from "The Saturday Evening Post" and Levison is of the opinion that the forthcoming article may only be generally favorable to Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.

As additional information is obtained concerning the plans of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., Jones and Levison, this information will be promptly brought to your attention.

The Attorney General is being furnished a copy of the attached New York memorandum and the information set forth above.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

NOTE: This memorandum is being classified "Confidential" because it contains information from a source, the unauthorized disclosure of which would seriously impair the investigation of the Communist Party, USA, and such impairment could have an adverse effect upon the national defense interests of the country.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



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# Administration in Cold Sweat Over Rising Negro Militancy

By Fred Halstead

MAY 29 — The meeting in New York on May 24 between Attorney General Robert Kennedy and a group of Negroes invited by novelist James Baldwin has thrown a scare into the Kennedy administration. The meeting was designed as part of the attempt of the Kennedys to head off and control the struggle for Negro equality and keep it within the bounds of gradualism. But it did not work out that way.

The Negroes present gave Kennedy a glimpse of the real mood of the country's black masses and the attorney general's reaction exposed his prejudice, arrogance and ignorance, as well as his unwillingness to commit the government to the necessary fundamental changes. The meeting reportedly ended with a young Negro Freedom Rider shaking his finger angrily in Kennedy's face.

The gathering had been arranged by Baldwin on Robert Kennedy's suggestion after the novelist had written Kennedy criticizing the administration's lack of forthright action in Birmingham. With the attorney general's approval, Baldwin invited about a dozen guests, mostly his personal friends, including the following Negroes: Harry Bela-



James Baldwin

## The Jackson Story

For background on the explosive events in the Jackson, Miss., civil-rights battleground, see story on page 3.

The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
 The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
 Date 6-3-63  
 The Militant  
 Page 1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 5/16/80 BY 2881573/af

fonte; Lena Horne; playwright Lorraine Hansberry; Professor Kenneth Clark; Chicago Urban League director, Dr. Edwin C. Berry; Attorney Clarence B. Jones; and Jerome Smith of New Orleans, a 25-year-old veteran of CORE direct-action projects. In addition, Baldwin invited a few white friends and Robert Kennedy brought along Burke Marshall, a special assistant on civil rights.

Baldwin later told the press that the plan was to discuss the situation in the North, and that he tried to impress on the attorney general that Northern as well as Southern Negroes are fed up. The federal government, said Baldwin, must take an "unequivocal moral stand" against segregation and take "radical and forceful" action if a possibly bloody racial collision is to be avoided. But, said Baldwin, "We couldn't get through."

Baldwin said that when it was proposed that President Kennedy personally escort Negro students into the University of Alabama, the attorney general "just laughed." "He didn't get the point at all," said Baldwin.

Baldwin said the Negroes finally "got through" the Kennedy reserve when the question of the Negro attitude toward Cuba was brought up. Dr. Clark said that was the point at which the meeting turned from a conversation to a stormy argument for the rest of

the three-hour session, with Kennedy on one side and the Negroes on the other.

Dr. Clark reported that Jerome Smith — who has faced Southern racist police — said he felt "nauseous" at having to beg the attorney general for protection from segregationist violence. Smith declared he felt no moral obligation to help the federal government "liberate" Cuba while the federal government refused to liberate the Negroes in this country.

At this point, Clark reported, Robert Kennedy expressed shock and outrage. "We were shocked that he was shocked," said Clark, "and that he seemed genuinely unable to understand what Smith was trying to say."

Clark said a "recurrent theme" of the session was the point that the Kennedy administration's actions on civil rights are based on Democratic Party political considerations rather than on a moral commitment against segregation. Kennedy spent his time explaining how gains could gradually be made here and there in discussions with "moderate" whites.

Said Clark: "There were times when we just broke out into hysterical laughter. It was the laughter of desperation. I didn't know whether to laugh or cry or both. We were unable to communicate clearly and skillfully that this was not a group of Negroes begging

the white power structure to be nice to Negroes. We were trying to say that this was an emergency for our country, as Americans. This never got over."

Kennedy was told that since "the FBI uses Southern agents in investigations of civil-rights abuses, the role of the FBI is coercive rather than protective" to Negroes. Dr. Clark said Kennedy wouldn't answer this point, and that "at one point Lena Horne asked him straight out: 'Are you not the boss of the FBI?'"

#### A Shocker

Kennedy's shocking attitude may be judged from the following report by *New York Post* columnist James Wechsler who interviewed Dr. Clark at length about the meeting: "The tension slowly increased. When discussion arose of the impact of recent events on male Southern Negroes, playwright Lorraine Hansberry exploded. She said the country ought to be worrying about the 'specimens of white manhood' recently immortalized in photographs showing their knees on the breasts of Negro women who had been dragged to the ground. Then she walked out, and didn't return."

Searching for a positive note about the meeting, Dr. Clark declared: "The fact that Bobby Kennedy sat through such an ordeal for three hours proves he is among the best the white power structure has to offer."

But the point is that the struggle  
(Continued on Page 2)



Robert F. Kennedy

## **... Rising Negro Militancy**

(Continued from Page 1)

gle for Negro equality is threatening to upset the white power structure, the establishment, the U.S. capitalist system — they are but different phrases for the same thing — and Kennedy is loyal above all to the white power structure. It is this that blinds him and that makes him an enemy, not a friend, of the desires of the Afro-American masses for fundamental change.

For Kennedy, the meeting was a fiasco. Instead of being publicized in Northern papers as a good fellow willing to rub shoulders with Negro intellectuals, Robert Kennedy stands exposed for just what he is — an arrogant, imperialistic, ignorant, spoiled-rich, prejudiced white man. All proportions guarded, the meeting was — so to speak — Bobby Kennedy's very own little Playa Giron.

The newspaper columnists were still commenting on "the New York conversations" when a fresh example of the militant mood among Northern Negroes about which Baldwin was talking ap-

peared in Philadelphia. Pickets organized by the local NAACP have been stopping trucks and workers from entering the site of a school-construction project because some of the building trade craft unions bar Negroes. Police broke through the picket line May 28 to allow some workers to enter, but trucks carrying supplies to the site were stopped. Declared Cecil Moore, president of the local NAACP chapter, which is demanding job rights for Negroes, "We'll picket the entire city. There are not enough police to stop us."

LOS ANGELES, May 26 — This city's largest-ever civil-rights rally took place at Wrigley Field, in the heart of the Negro ghetto today. More than 30,000 persons turned out at a rally organized by the local NAACP and supported by more than 40 organizations, including ten international unions. Martin Luther King, featured speaker and hero of the day, demanded that President John F. Kennedy escort the two Negro students into the University of Alabama.

Dick Gregory, still nursing bruises received in the Birmingham jail, also spoke. "I believe in non-violence along with Rev. King," he said, "and many people accuse all Negroes of carrying switchblade knives — which just isn't true. However, I am an exception and I hope Martin Luther King doesn't ask me to give it up, because I would just hate to refuse Rev. King."

SAN FRANCISCO, May 26 — More than 20,000 persons took part in a parade and rally here today in sympathy with Negroes in Alabama. Twelve thousand marched through the downtown area. Marchers carried signs denouncing segregation in the South and job discrimination in San Francisco.

GENERAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION

9/19/63

Civil Rights Division being telephonically advised, and information will be furnished in writing to Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall. U.S. Information Agency will be appropriately advised through Liaison Section.



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5-16-89 BY 2885 JAL



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
SEP 19 1963

TELETYPE

URGENT 9-19-63 11-40 AM JLW

TO DIRECTOR

FROM SAC NEW YORK 100-146553 4P

JAMES BALDWIN

RACIAL MATTERS

ON NINE NINETEEN SIXTYTHREE,

[REDACTED] ADVISED THAT ON THAT DATE CLARENCE JONES /COUNSEL TO MARTIN LUTHER KING/ AND JAMES BALDWIN /NEGRO AUTHOR/ HELD A DISCUSSION REGARDING BALDWIN-S APPEARANCE ON THE USIA TELEVISION PROGRAM IN WASHINGTON ON EIGHT TWENTYEIGHT SIXTYTHREE. JONES STATED THAT HE HAD REQUESTED FROM USIA A TRANSCRIPT OF THE ENTIRE SHOW AND HAD RECEIVED THIS TRANSCRIPT AND NOTED THAT BALDWIN-S REMARKS REGARDING THE FBI AND MR. HOOVER WERE NOT CONTAINED THEREIN AND THEREFORE JONES ASSUMED THAT THESE REMARKS HAD BEEN EDITED OUT. BALDWIN STATED THAT HE HAD WITNESSES TO THE STATEMENTS THAT HE HAD MADE ON THIS PROGRAM. IN RECALLING HIS STATEMENT REGARDING THE FBI, BALDWIN STATED THAT THE SUBSTANCE OF HIS REMARKS ON THIS PROGRAM WERE "PART OF THE PROBLEM IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IS J. EDGAR HOOVER". JONES STATED THAT HE WOULD "LIKE TO BLOW THE WHISTLE ON THIS". JONES STATED

END PAGE ONE

MR. BELMONT FOR THE DIRECTOR

PAGE TWO

THAT ANY LEGITIMATE CRITICAL OPINION OF THE FBI IS APPARENTLY "OFF LIMITS OR TABOO". JONES FURTHER STATED THAT HE HAD COMPOSED A LETTER TO THE REST OF THE PARTICIPANTS ON THE USIA SHOW INFORMING THEM OF THE DELETION MADE. JONES THEN STATED THAT HE INTENDS TO INFORM THE USIA THAT HE KNOWS OF THE DELETION AND INTENDS ALSO TO BRING THIS INFORMATION TO THE ATTENTION OF THE PUBLIC AND THE ATTORNEY GENERAL. JONES CONTINUED THAT HE WAS GOING TO DO THIS IMMEDIATELY AND STATED THAT HE WOULD ALSO LIKE TO DRAFT A STATEMENT AND STATED "WE CANNOT LET THIS DELETION GO".

ADDITIONALLY, BALDWIN AND JONES DISCUSSED BALDWIN-S PUBLIC STATEMENT OF NINE EIGHTEEN SIXTYTHREE, ISSUED AT A PRESS CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK CITY. ACCORDING TO THE "NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE" NINE NINETEEN SIXTYTHREE, BALDWIN IS QUOTED AS BITTERLY CRITICIZING THE KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION AND THE FBI FOR THEIR "LACK OF ACTION" FOLLOWING THE BIRMINGHAM BOMBING NINE FIFTEEN SIXTYTHREE. THE "NEW YORK TIMES" OF NINE NINETEEN SIXTYTHREE, ADDITIONALLY QUOTES BALDWIN AS SAYING "I BLAME J. EDGAR HOOVER IN PART FOR EVENTS IN ALABAMA. NEGROES HAVE NO CAUSE TO HAVE FAITH IN THE FBI". THIS SOURCE ALSO STATED THAT JONES TOLD BALDWIN THAT HE HAD RECEIVED A CALL FROM AN ATTORNEY "WHO WORKS IN AN OFFICE OF THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT".

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

ACCORDING TO THIS SOURCE, THIS ATTORNEY ADVISED JONES THAT BALDWIN-S STATEMENT HAD CAUSED "QUITE A STIR", STATING FURTHER "YOU-RE GOING TO BE HEARING FROM US".

JONES FURTHER ADVISED BALDWIN THAT BALDWIN-S PRESS STATEMENTS WERE A MOST SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION. JONES FURTHER STATED THAT HE WAS DISTURBED OVER THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE OF NEGROE LEADERS WITH THE PRESIDENT SCHEDULED FOR NINE NINETEEN SIXTYTHREE. JONES FELT THAT THIS CONFERENCE COULD DO MORE HARM THAN GOOD. BALDWIN STATED THAT HE FELT THAT KENNEDY SHOULD GO TO ALABAMA AND JONES REPLIED "THE PRESIDENT CANNOT BE LET OFF THE HOOK ON THIS THING". JONES FURTHER ADDED THAT BALDWIN-S PRESS STATEMENT HAD BEEN A VERY VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION AND THAT IT REFLECTED THE GENERAL CONSENSUS OF OPINION OF THE MAJORITY OF NEGROES IN BIRMINGHAM. BALDWIN AGREED THAT THE FEELING EXISTED NOT ONLY IN BIRMINGHAM BUT ELSEWHERE. BALDWIN THEN SPOKE OF SOMETHING HIS SISTER HAD SAID TO HIS MOTHER, "NEGROES ARE THINKING SERIOUSLY OF ASSASSINATING MARTIN LUTHER KING". JONES THEN STATED THAT HE BELIEVED THAT THE FEELING IN THE SOUTH IS ONE OF "CRISIS IN THE EFFICACY OF NON VIOLENT MOVEMENT".

IN A FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THE BIRMINGHAM BOMBING JONES QUESTIONED THE "EFFICACY OF THE FBI IN CASES LIKE THIS". JONES STATED THAT THERE HAD BEEN FORTY FIVE TO FIFTY BOMBINGS SINCE NINETEEN FORTY SEVEN AND NOT ONE HAD BEEN SOLVED. HE FURTHER STATED THAT "THERE HAS BEEN A TOTAL ABSENCE OF FBI INFILTRATING RACIST ORGANIZATIONS".

PAGE FOUR

CORR PLS DELETE "SM-C" FROM TITEL OF CASE

P 2 L 16 WD 5 "ADDITIONALLY"

END

11-55 PM OK FBI WA RM

TU DISCO

*cc: Mr. Rosen & Mr. Sullivan*



FBI

Date: 9/24/63

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT  
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
(ATT: CIVIL RIGHTS SECT. GENERAL INVESTIGATIVE DIV.)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-146553)  
SUBJECT: JAMES BALDWIN  
RACIAL MATTERS  
SM - C

CLASSIFIED AND  
EXTENDED BY 5845 RMD  
REASON FOR EXTENSION  
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR  
DECLASSIFICATION 9-24-85

Enclosed herewith are ten (10) copies of a letterhead memo reflecting the conversation between CLARENCE JONES and JAMES BALDWIN, as received by [REDACTED] on 9/19/63. b2-1 b7D-1

b7C-1 b7D-2 The source utilized to characterize CLARENCE JONES is [REDACTED] in 1954. Also used to characterize CLARENCE JONES is [REDACTED]

The letterhead memo is classified "Secret" due to the extreme sensitive nature of [REDACTED]. The unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source and thereby impair investigation of subversive matters, which could be injurious to the national defense.

Characterization of CLARENCE JONES is listed at the end of the memo in order to insure continuity of the memo.

5-100-80980 ENCLOSURE, DECLASSIFIED BY 3042 PWT/RS ON 10/12/89  
Bureau (ENCLS. 10) (RM)  
(1-100-407018) (CLARENCE JONES)  
(1-100-106670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)  
1 - Birmingham (157-867) (ENCLS. 1) (INFO) (RM)  
1 - Atlanta (100-5586) (ENCLS. 1) (INFO) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (RM)  
1 - New York (100-73250) (CLARENCE JONES)  
1 - New York (100-136585) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (RM)  
1 - New York (100-146553) (CLARENCE JONES)

JPD:mld  
(12)

Date Forw. 9-26-63

3 SEP 25 1963

How Forw. R-5 REG-104

XEROX  
OCT 3 1963

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/1/79 BY SP8 BJS/ML

Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

OCT 14 1963



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

New York, New York  
September 24, 1963

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

New York 100-146553

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 3042 PWT/SL  
ON 10/12/98

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF Declassification  
DATE 12/9/77/RSK

Re: James Baldwin  
Racial Matters; -  
Security Matter - C

81-0802 Darrow/King  
DP8 BTJ/1080  
3-16-89  
292325

On September 19, 1963, a confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that on that date Clarence Jones (Counsel to Martin Luther King) and James Baldwin (Negro author) held a discussion regarding Baldwin's appearance on the USIA television program in Washington on August 28, 1963. Jones stated that he had requested from USIA a transcript of the entire show and had received this transcript and noted that Baldwin's remarks regarding the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and Mr. Hoover were not contained therein and therefore Jones assumed that these remarks had been edited out. Baldwin stated that he had witnesses to the statements that he had made on this program. In recalling his statement regarding the FBI, Baldwin stated that the substance of his remarks on this program were "part of the problem in the civil rights movement is J. Edgar Hoover". Jones then stated that he would "like to blow the whistle on this". Jones stated that any legitimate critical opinion of the FBI is apparently "off limits or taboo". Jones further stated that he had composed a letter to the rest of the participants on the USIA show informing them of the deletion made. Jones then stated that he intends to inform the USIA that he knows of the deletion and intends also to bring this information to the attention of the public and the Attorney General. Jones continued that he was going to do this immediately and stated that he would also like to draft a statement and stated "we cannot let this deletion go".

DECLASSIFIED BY 1080  
ON 11/14/77  
963 BTJ/1080 12/14/77

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

11-14-77  
CLASSIFIED AND  
EXTENDED BY SP4 BTJ/1080  
REASON FOR EXTENSION  
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 9-29-86  
DECLASSIFICATION 6076

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

James Baldwin

Additionally, Baldwin and Jones discussed Baldwin's public statement of September 18, 1963, issued at a press conference in New York City. According to the "New York Herald Tribune", September 19, 1963, Baldwin is quoted as bitterly criticizing the Kennedy Administration and the FBI for their "lack of action" following the Birmingham bombing, September 15, 1963. The "New York Times" of September 19, 1963, additionally quotes Baldwin as saying "I blame J. Edgar Hoover in part for events in Alabama. Negroes have no cause to have faith in the FBI". This source also stated that Jones told Baldwin that he had received a call from an attorney "who works in an office of the Justice Department". According to this source, this attorney advised Jones that Baldwin's statement had caused "quite a stir", stating further "you're going to be hearing from us".

Jones further advised Baldwin that Baldwin's press statements were a most significant contribution. Jones further stated that he was disturbed over the proposed conference of Negro leaders with the President scheduled for September 19, 1963. Jones felt that this conference could do more harm than good. Baldwin stated that he felt that Kennedy should go to Alabama and Jones replied "the President cannot be let off the hook on this thing". Jones further added that Baldwin's press statement had been a very valuable contribution and that it reflected that general consensus of opinion of the majority of Negroes in Birmingham. Baldwin agreed that the feeling existed not only in Birmingham but elsewhere. Baldwin then spoke of something his sister had said to his mother, "Negroes are thinking seriously of assassinating Martin Luther King". Jones then stated that he believed that the feeling in the South is one of "crisis in the efficacy of non-violent movement".

In a further discussion of the Birmingham bombing Jones questioned the "efficacy of the FBI in cases like this". Jones stated that there had been 45 to 50 bombings since 1947 and not one had been solved. He further stated that "there has been a total absence of FBI infiltrating racist organizations".

~~SECRET~~

James Baldwin

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

As of July 3, 1963, Clarence Jones was the General Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York City.

A second confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that on February 26, 1957, he identified a photograph of Clarence Jones as the person whom he knew during late 1953 or early 1954, to be a member and in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League (LYL). *U*

The LYL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

*U*  
A third confidential source on August 20, 1963 advised that Clarence Jones was at that time Counsel to Reverend Martin Luther King.

~~SECRET~~  
- 3 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Date: 9/30/63

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plain text or code)

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED~~~~HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED~~~~EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN~~Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

Agency G-2, ONI, OSI, CRD, IS, *etc.*

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-146553)

Date Forw. 10/3/63How Forw. asSUBJECT: JAMES BALDWIN  
RACIAL MATTERS  
SM - CBy LAC/hassee Eng Unitsee DestroyedDECLASSIFIED BY 69222EP/  
ON 2/17/99

CA97-5269

Enclosed herewith are 9 copies of a letterhead memorandum reflecting a conversation between CLARENCE JONES and JAMES BALDWIN as received by [REDACTED] on 9/29/63.

First source is [REDACTED]

The source utilized to characterize CLARENCE JONES is [REDACTED]

in 1954. b7C-6 b7D-2Also used to characterize CLARENCE JONES is [REDACTED] b2-1 b7D-1The third source used to characterize FRANK MABREY, JR., ANTHONY MEYNARD and the organization "Procept for Peace" is [REDACTED] b2-1 b7D-1

The information furnished by [REDACTED] was furnished to SA [REDACTED]

- 4 - Bureau (Encls. 9)(RM)  
(1 - 100-407081)(CLARENCE JONES)  
1 - New York (100-73250)(CLARENCE JONES)  
1 - New York

C C. WTS:bca  
(8)

ST-104

REC-10

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M. Per \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-146553

b2-1  
b7D-1

The letterhead memorandum is classified "Secret" due to the extreme sensitive nature of [REDACTED]. The unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source and thereby impair investigation of subversive matters, which could have an injurious effect to the national defense.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DEC 1 1964



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York  
September 30, 1963

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~SECRET~~

James Baldwin

On September 29, 1963, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that James Baldwin (Negro author) on the same date, discussed with Clarence Jones, problems he is having with [REDACTED], and [REDACTED]. Baldwin stated that [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] have been "camping on his doorstep" and watching people enter and leave his residence and have even threatened him.

b7c-4  
Baldwin stated that [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] came to his office and told him they had Photostats of documents indicating that there may be some "money involved", then showed Baldwin that they are authorized to represent Baldwin in his planned "rent strike".

[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] said they had a note which he, Baldwin, had written from the stage of a church during a rally in which he, Baldwin, agreed to pay [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] to handle the "rent strike" activities.

~~SECRET~~

Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

367 VCL/AG  
5-29-81  
288 1573122  
5-16-82  
This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

James Baldwin

Baldwin told Jones that they had threatened that if he did not pay for the printing of the "leaflets" that they would present this material and other damaging information to the police. Baldwin said he agreed to meet with them at [REDACTED] apartment at [REDACTED] Street at 10:00 p.m. and wanted Jones to accompany him.

Jones agreed to accompany Baldwin to his meeting with [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]. Jones then contacted [REDACTED] 10th Precinct, New York City Police Department and told him that [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] were to extort money from his client and that he and his client were to meet with them tonight. [REDACTED] asked that Jones and his client meet with him so that he could accompany them to the meeting with [REDACTED] and [REDACTED].

b7c-4

As of July 3, 1963, Clarence Jones was the General Counsel for The Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York City.

The second confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on February 26, 1957, he identified a photograph of Clarence Jones as the person whom he knew during late 1953 or early, 1954 to be a member of and in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League (LYL).

The LYL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

James Baldwin

A third source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on August 16, 1963, that Frank Mabrey, Jr., a Negro male youth, who is a race driver and Arthur Meynard, a young Negro author are both members of an organization known as "Procept for Peace". This organization is a new well financed group in New York City in the integration movement. The group appears to favor civil rights and integration but source feels that this group advocates violence and their true aim is to disrupt integration.

The August 2, 1963 edition of the "New York Mirror", a daily newspaper, published in New York City, contained an article on page 2, related to arrests at various sites in New York City being picketed by civil rights groups. This article reflected that one Arthur Meynard, age 25, Negro, who gave his address as "Africa", was arrested and charged with felonious assault, for scuffling with a police officer at the construction site of a downstate medical center at Brooklyn, New York. A scuffle occurred when the police seized four cartons of eggs apparently for pelting police, according to the article.

b7c-7

[REDACTED], Bureau of Special Services, New York City Police Department, advised on August 16, 1963, that "Procept for Peace" began operating in New York City during the past week and travels to civil rights demonstrations and gatherings where they offer to assist in picketing for a fee of one dollar.

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: "THE FIRE NEXT TIME"  
BY JAMES BALDWIN

DATE: October 3, 1963

1 - Mr. Sullivan

1 - Mr. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]  
(Attn: Miss [REDACTED])

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

Tolson ✓  
Belmont ✓  
Mohr ✓  
Casper ✓  
Callahan ✓  
Conrad ✓  
DeLoach ✓  
Evans ✓  
Gale ✓  
Rosen ✓  
Sullivan ✓  
Tavel ✓  
Trotter ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Holmes ✓  
Gandy ✓

Subject book, published in 1963 by The Dial Press, Inc., New York City, consists of two articles by Baldwin which were previously published in magazines. Both articles strongly advocate integration.

## I. "My Dungeon Shook"

In this brief article Baldwin compares Harlem living conditions where he was reared to those described by Charles Dickens existing in London over 100 years ago. Today, with integration, Baldwin says the Negroes must force the whites to stop fleeing from reality and begin to change those conditions.

## II. "Down at the Cross" (originally published under the title "Letter from a Region in My Mind")

This lengthy article again mentions Baldwin's past life in Harlem. He had been a preacher on occasion (no mention of being ordained) until he became disillusioned with Christianity. He refers to Christ as a "disreputable sunbaked Hebrew." Baldwin continues: "If the concept of God has any validity or any use, it can only be to make us larger, freer, and more loving. If God cannot do this, then it is time we got rid of Him." Baldwin does not say how. Baldwin does not regard the Negro as inferior to the whites and says the only thing the white man has that the Negro needs is power. He contends the blacks and whites need each other if we are to become a nation and if integration is to be achieved. If the relatively conscious whites and blacks do not falter in their duty to work toward integration, he says, it may be possible to end the racial nightmare. If, on the other hand, they do not try everything to achieve that goal, then "the fulfillment of that prophesy, re-created from the Bible in song by a slave, is upon us: God gave Noah the rainbow sign, no more water, the fire next time!"

The Director and the Bureau are not mentioned in the book.

1 - 100-3-116 (CPUSA, Negro Question  
Communist Influence in Racial Matters)

62-108763

JFM:mls

(7)

59 OCT 30 1963

REC-5

3 OCT 18 1963

1043

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10-16-89 BY 2508 2508

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: "THE FIRE NEXT TIME"  
BY JAMES BALDWIN  
62-108763

Bureau files indicate Baldwin, who was born in 1924 in New York City, has been very active and vocal in the integration movement and his writings deal primarily with that situation. He has lent his name to subversive causes and has been critical of the Director. He has not been investigated.

ACTION:

None. File.


*Am*

*WCS*

*Ch*

*1 per  
10/4*

TRUE COPY

  
October 24, 1963

b7c-5

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Chief  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5-16-89 BY 2587 (S) J/af

Dear Mr. Hoover:


There are quite a few things that come to ones  
mind these days, and one is, who will be chief after you retire?  
Do you have a trained man who is not a liberal minded fellow  
to step in?

Then too, is it a true fact that the founder of the  
NAACP died a full fledged communist? or is this propaganda?

Also, I wonder about this fellow James Baldwin who  
writes for "The Worker." An evangelist who spoke at our church kept  
quoting him. Are you allowed to tell us if a man is a known communist?

Thank you, and know one thing, you have been the one  
big hope for our future for a long time. It worries us to see time go  
by and retirement nearing for you.

Yours truly,

  
b7c-5

REC- 16

62-108763

62-108763

62-108763-1045

17 C  
10-29-63  
H6

10-29-63  
302 index

b7c-5



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

F.B.I. MAN IN CHARGE  
OF HARLEM RIOTS INVESTIGATION  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

IR MAIL

COMMUNICATIONS  
SECTION

b7c \$

October 24, 1963

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Chief  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 5-16-89 BY SP8 BTJ/af

Dear Mr. Hoover:

There are quite a few things that come to ones mind these days, and one is, who will be chief after you retire? Do you have a trained man who is not a liberal minded fellow to step in?

Then too, is it a true fact that the founder of the NAACP died a full fledged communist? or is this propaganda?

Also, I wonder about this fellow James Baldwin who writes for "The Worker". An evangelist who spoke at our church kept gushing him. Are you allowed to tell us if a man is a known communist?

10-29-63  
Thank you, and know one thing, you have been the one big hope for our future for a long time. It worries us to see time go by and return meaning for you.

b7c \$ Yours truly,

Brown  
1046

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: "THE FIRE NEXT TIME"  
BY JAMES BALDWIN  
62-108763

Bureau files indicate Baldwin, who was born in 1924 in New York City, has been very active and vocal in the integration movement and his writings deal primarily with that situation. He has lent his name to subversive causes and has been critical of the Director. He has not been investigated.

ACTION:

None. File.

*Am*

*WCS*

*Ch*

*1 per  
10/4*



**SECRET**

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 10/28/63

FROM : D. J. Brennan, Jr.

SUBJECT: JAMES BALDWIN  
RACIAL MATTERS  
SECURITY MATTER - C

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SEE REVERSE  
SIDE FOR  
CLASSIFIED  
ACTION

Reference is made to letter from Mr. Paul J. McNichol, Director, Office of Security, United States Information Agency (USIA), to the Director dated October 11, 1963. Therein Mr. McNichol expresses appreciation for receipt of information contained in our memorandum of September 24, 1963, captioned as above and setting forth information indicating that Baldwin contemplated protesting certain deletions made by USIA in a videotape of a round-table discussion concerning the March-on-Washington, August 28, 1963.

In reference letter, Mr. McNichol points out that Baldwin's remarks were edited because they amounted to attacks on the Director and Senator James Eastland. He pointed out that it is the established policy of the Director of USIA that if any individual is attacked by name on a television program, some answer to the attack, or some statement of a contrary view, must be included. There being none in this instance, such remarks on the part of Baldwin were edited.

At the request of the Domestic Intelligence Division, Liaison contacted McNichol on October 24, 1963, and requested information as to the nature of Baldwin's remarks regarding the Director. On October 25, McNichol furnished the following verbatim excerpt, which remarks were made by Baldwin during a discussion of the Negro problem and obstacles confronting the Negro:

"It will be a matter of attacking really, J. Edgar Hoover, and asking very rude questions such as why the

1-Mr. Belmont  
1-Mr. Sullivan  
1-Mr. Sizoo  
1-Mr. Baumgardner

1-Mr. [REDACTED]  
1-Liaison  
1-Mr. [REDACTED]

WJM:mer (8)

Classified by [REDACTED]

Declassify on: OADR 5-17-80

12 NOV 5 1963

60 NOV 14 1963

**SECRET**

PERS. REC. UNIT

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: JAMES BALDWIN  
RACIAL MATTERS  
SECURITY MATTER - C

FBI can find a 'junkie' but cannot find a man who bombs the homes of Negro leaders in the deep south. They still have not found anyone. These are the questions that one has to be confronted with now. One has got to deal with the fact that if you liberate Negroes in the ghettos of harlem, you have to change New York City."

ACTION:

None. The above is submitted for information and no further action is deemed warranted.

gal W&S ✓ Q JA

- 2 -

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UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY  
WASHINGTON

October 11, 1963

Mr. Tolson ☒  
Mr. Belmont ☒  
Mr. Mohr ☒  
Mr. Casper ☒  
Mr. Callahan ☒  
Mr. Conrad ☒  
Mr. DeLoach ☒  
Mr. Evans ☒  
Mr. Gale ☒  
Mr. Rosen ☒  
Mr. Sullivan ☒  
Mr. Tavel ☒  
Mr. Trotter ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Miss Holmes ☒  
Miss Gandy ☒

Dear Mr. Hoover:

This Agency deeply appreciates the information contained in the Bureau's memorandum of September 24, 1963, New York, New York, entitled James Baldwin, Racial Matters; Security Matter - C.

Up to this time the Agency has not received any request from Mr. Baldwin or his attorney concerning the necessary editing done to the videotaped March-on-Washington discussion in which Mr. Baldwin participated.

I thought it would be of interest to you to be informed the content of your memorandum was the subject of a conference of the highest officials in our Agency and if we are required to make some statement on this subject, we will point out that Mr. Alan Carter, Director of the Television Service, clearly informed all participants in the round-table discussion (which was videotaped on August 28) that there would be some editing to make the program fit within normal television time limits. As made, the tape was nearly 33 minutes long and deletions were needed to bring it down to approximately 25 1/2 minutes. In deciding what material would be edited to bring the tape to the proper length, we naturally exercised editorial judgment and we considered that the views of Mr. Baldwin and other participants were adequately expressed without the particular material we deleted.

The portion of Mr. Baldwin's remarks which were removed contained attacks on you and Senator James Eastland and it is Mr. Murrow's established policy in such programs that if an individual is attacked by name in a television program, some

The Honorable  
J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington 25, D. C.

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